8
1

Connecticut Republican Magazine.

TWENTY SEVENTH YEAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

JULY, 1802.—NUMBER I.—VOLUME I.

By LUTHER PRATT.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE ſubſcribers for the Republican Magazine, are at length preſented with the firſt number, which has been delayed a long time on account of an indiſpoſition of the editor. The beſt returns the editor can make for a very liberal ſubſcription, will be his unremitted exertions to render the work worthy of public patronage: he regrets that ſeveral very able productions deſigned for the Magazine, did not come to hand in ſeaſon to appear in the firſt number; in the ſecond they will be given to the public; adopting as his political creed, the principles aſſerted in that ever memorable act, which gave exiſtence to his country, as an INDEPENDENT NATION. Aanimated by the pure and unadulterated maxims of RATIONAL LIBERTY, civil and religious, the editor will endeavor to preſent the Republican Magazine as a practical commentary, on its principles. A periodical work of this kind, has long been wiſhed for, by the friends of EQUAL LIBERTY and JUST GOVERNMENT: but to ſupport it, requires the united exertions of its friends, eſpecially thoſe who poſſeſs talents and leiſure; the editor ſolicits their aid.

Examining, explaining, and illuſtrating the principles of our excellent conſtitution, are labors worthy of the honeſt patriot, and the enlightened ſtateſman. Communications, the object of which are to exhibit the origin, tendency, and effects of meaſures adopted and purſued by the general government, are requeſted; partial however, as we are, to the preſent republican adminiſtration, we deem it proper to declare, that any production, the object of which ſhall be either to blacken the characters of individuals in the late, or flatter any of the preſent adminiſtration, other than as particular characters may be affected by diſpaſſionate and manly diſcuſſion of public meaſures, will find no place in the Magazine. Equally remote from our wiſhes and our views, is the unmanly work of indiſcriminate cenſure on the former, or wafting the ſiren ſong of confidence and hallaluas to the preſent adminiſtration. To diſſeminate correct information is our object; poſſeſs'd of this, we believe the people capable of judging for themſelves; of this truth they have lately furniſhed an illuſtrious example, and inſtructed thoſe who were BY THEM intruſted with the management of public affairs, that the people were the beſt judges whether their government was well adminiſtered. A change has been effected, not by the blind zeal of a noiſy multitude, but by a conſtitutional expreſſion of public opinion, by

—— "Men, high minded men,
"Men, who their duties know,
"But know their rights; and knowing dare maintain."

POLITICAL.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

WHEN, in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to aſſume, among the powers of the earth, the ſeperate and equal ſtation, to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitle them; a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they ſhould declare the cauſes, which impel them to the ſeparation.

WE hold theſe truths to be ſelf evident—that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL;—that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights;—that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs;—that to ſecure theſe rights, governments are inſtitutued among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed.; that whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive of theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new government, laying its foundation on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs.—Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments, long eſtabliſhed, ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes, and accordingly, all experience hath ſhown, that mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves, by aboliſhing the forms to which they are accuſtomed.—But when a long train of abuſes and uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame objects, evinces a deſign to reduce them under abſolute deſpotiſm, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off ſuch government, and to provide new guards for their future ſecurity. Such has been the patient ſufferance of theſe colonies; and ſuch is now the neceſſity, which conſtrains them to alter their former ſyſtems of government. The hiſtory of the preſent king of Great Britain is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations, all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over theſe ſtates. To prove this, let facts be ſubmitted to a candid world:—

HE has refuſed his aſſent to laws the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good.

HE has forbidden his governors to paſs laws of immediate and preſſing importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their operation, till his aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refuſed to paſs other laws, for the accomodation of large diſtricts of people, unleſs thoſe people would relinquiſh the right of repreſentation in the legiſlature—a right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

HE has called together legiſlative bodies, at places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the depoſitory of their public records, for the ſole purpoſe of fatiguing them into compliance with his meaſures.

HE has diſſolved repreſentative houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly firmneſs, his invaſions on the rights of the people.

HE has refuſed, for a long time after ſuch diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the legiſlative powers incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the ſtate remaining, in the mean time, expoſed to all the danger of invaſion from without, and convulſions within.

HE has endeavored to prevent the population of theſe ſtates; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refuſing to paſs others, to encourage their migrations hither, and raiſing the condition of new appropriations of lands.

HE has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws, for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

HE has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

HE has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers, to harraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſtance.

HE has kept among us, in times of peace, ſtanding armies without the conſent of our legiſlatures.

HE has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to, the civil power.

HE has combined with others, to ſubject us to a juriſdiction, foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws;—giving his aſſent to their acts of pretended legiſlation:—

FOR quartering large bodies of troops among us:—

FOR protecting them, by a mock trial, from puniſhment for

any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe ſtates :—

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :—

For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent :—

For depriving us in many caſes, of the benefits of trial by jury :—

For tranſporting us beyond ſeas, to be tried for pretended offences :—

For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh laws in a neighboring province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an example and fit inſtrument, for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into theſe colonies :—

For taking away our charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :—

For ſuſpending our legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with power, to legiſlate for us, in all caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war againſt us.

He has plundered our ſeas, ravaged our coaſts, burnt our towns, and deſtroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, tranſporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, deſolation and tyranny already begun, with circumſtances of cruelty and perfidy, ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high ſeas, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themſelves by their hands.

He has excited domeſtic inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the mercileſs Indian ſavages ; whoſe known rule of warfare is an undiſtinguiſhed deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions.*

NOTE.

* *If a recital of thoſe complicated injuries are not ſufficient to juſtify the Declaration of Independence, let the reader caſt his eye over a few obſervations on the Engliſh nation, in the following extract of a letter written by JOHN ADAMS, Eſq. late preſident of the United States, dated Amſterdam, October 5th, 1780.*

" For the Americans know, if they were to be deceived by England, to break their " union among themſelves, and their *faith with their Allies*, they would ever after " be in the power of England, who would bring them into the moſt abject ſubmiſſion " to the government of a parliament, the moſt corrupted in the world, in which they " would have no voice nor influence, at three thouſand miles diſtance from them.

" But if the hatred of the Americans muſt come into conſideration, I know not

In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions, we have petitioned for redreſs in the moſt humble terms: our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injury. A prince, whoſe character is thus marked, by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our Britiſh brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legiſlature, to extend an unwarrantable juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumſtances of our emigration and ſettlement here. We have appealed to their native juſtice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred to diſavow theſe uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correſpondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of juſtice and of conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore acquieſce in the neceſſity, which denounces our ſeparation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We therefore, the repreſentatives of the United States of America, in general Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of theſe colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that theſe united colonies are, and of right, ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES;—that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown;—and that all political connection between them and the ſtate of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which independent ſtates may of right do. And for the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honor.

"how to prove their hatred better than by ſhowing the provocations they have had to "hatred.

"If tearing up from the foundation thoſe forms of government under which they "were born and educated, and thrived and proſpered, to the infinite emolument of "England—if impoſing taxes upon them, or endeavoring to do it, for twenty years "without their conſent—if commencing hoſtilities upon them—burning their towns—"butchering their people—deliberately ſtarving priſoners—raviſhing their women—"exciting hoſts of Indians to butcher and ſcalp them—and purchaſing Germans to de-"ſtroy them, and hiring negro ſervants to murder their maſters:—If all theſe, and "many other things as bad, are not provocations enough to hatred, I would requeſt "Mr. Calkeon to tell me what is or can be. All theſe horrors the Engliſh have "practiſed in every part of America, from Boſton to Savannah."

Extract from a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," *written in the time of the American Revolution.*

On Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtance; the diſtinctions of rich and poor may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh ill ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice.—Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater diſtinction, for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned, and that is, the diſtinction of men into *kings* and *ſubjects*. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature, good and bad the diſtinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth inquiring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or miſery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the ſcripture chronology, there were no kings; the conſequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confuſion. The quiet and rural lives of the firſt patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

Government by kings was firſt introduced into the world by the heathens, from whom the children of Iſrael copied the cuſtom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The heathens paid divine honors to their deceaſed kings, and the Chriſtian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of *ſacred majeſty*, applied to a worm, who in the midſt of his ſplendor is crumbling into duſt!

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt, cannot be juſtified on the equal rights of nature, ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expreſsly diſapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchical governments. "*Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's*," is the ſcripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no ſupport of monarchical government, for the Jews at that

time were without a king, and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

Near three thouſand years paſſed away, from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews, under a national deluſion, requeſted a king. Till then, their form of government (except in extraordinary caſes, where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of republic, adminiſtered by a judge, and the elders of the tribes. Kings, they had none, and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder, that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honor, ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

The children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army, and victory, through the divine interpoſition, decided in his favor. The Jews, elate with ſucceſs, attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king, ſaying, *Rule thou over us, thou and thy ſon, and thy ſon's ſon.* Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one: but Gideon in the piety of his ſoul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you, the Lord ſhall rule over you.*— Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honor, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the poſitive ſtile of a prophet, charges them with diſaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the heathens is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons, who were entruſted with ſome ſecular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, ſaying, *Behold thou art old, and thy ſons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be *like* unto other nations, that is, the heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel when they ſaid, give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord ſaid unto Samuel, hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee, for they have not rejected*

thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods; so do they also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice; howbeit, protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them, that is, not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Israel was so eagerly copying after. And notwithstanding the great distance of time and difference of manners, the character is still in fashion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a king. And he said, this shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you; he will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots, and he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers, and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants; and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants, and he will take the tenth of your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants, and ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin: the high encomium given of David, takes no notice of him *officially, as a king*, but only as a *man* after God's own heart. *Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said, nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.* Samuel continued to reason with them, but to no purpose; he set before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a king. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the*

Lord and Samuel. And and all the people ſaid unto Samuel, pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for we have added unto our ſins this evil, to aſk a king. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchical government is true, or the ſcripture is falſe. And a man hath good reaſon to believe that there is as much of king craft, as prieſt craft, in withholding the ſcripture from the public in popiſh countries: for monarchy in every inſtance is the popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion; and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves, ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on poſterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in perpetual preference to all others forever; and though himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honors of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that *nature* diſapproves it, otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *aſs for a lion.*

Secondly, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honors than were beſtowed upon him, ſo the givers of thoſe honors could have no power to give away the right of poſterity; and though they might ſay, "we chooſe you for *our* head," they could not, without manifeſt injuſtice to their children, ſay, "that your children and your children's children ſhall reign over *ours* forever." Becauſe ſuch an unwiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact might, (perhaps) in the next ſucceſſion, put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men, in their private ſentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils, which when once eſtabliſhed is not eaſily removed; many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the more powerful part ſhares with the king, the plunder of the reſt.

This is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their firſt riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principle ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners, or pre eminence in ſubtlety, obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increaſing in power, and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenceleſs, to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent

contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendants, becauſe ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore, hereditary ſucceſſion, in the early ages of monarchy, could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual of complimental: but as few or no records were extant in thoſe days, and traditionary hiſtory ſtuffed with fables, it was very eaſy, after the lapſe of a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leader, and the choiſe of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at firſt to favor hereditary pretentions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened ſince, that what at firſt was ſubmitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, ſince the conqueſt, hath known ſome few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his ſenſes can ſay that their claim under William the conqueror is a very honorable one. A French baſtard landing with an armed banditti, and eſtabliſhing himſelf king of England againſt the conſent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry raſcally original.—It certainly hath no divinity in it.—However, it is needleſs to ſpend much time in expoſing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any ſo weak as to believe it, let them promiſcuouſly worſhip the aſs and lion, and welcome. I ſhall neither copy their humility, nor diſturb their devotion.

Yet I ſhould be glad to aſk how they ſuppoſe kings came at firſt? The queſtion admits but of three anſwers, viz. either by lot, by election, or by uſurpation. If the firſt king was taken by lot, it eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary ſucceſſion. Saul was by lot, yet the ſucceſſion was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that tranſaction there was any intention it ever ſhould. If the firſt king of any country was by election, that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next; for to ſay that the *right* of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the firſt electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings forever, hath no parallel in or out of ſcripture, but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will of all men loſt in Adam; and from ſuch compariſon, and it will admit of no other, hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one

all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from reaſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion, are parallels. Diſhonorable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the moſt ſubtil ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile.

As to uſurpation no man will be ſo hardy as to defend it; and that William the conqueror was an uſurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of Engliſh monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not ſo much the abſurdity as the evil of hereditary ſucceſſion which concerns mankind. Did it enſure a race of good and wiſe men, it would have the ſeal of divine authority; but as it opens a door to the *fooliſh*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppreſſion. Men who look upon themſelves born to reign, and others to obey, ſoon grow inſolent; ſelected from the reſt of mankind, their minds are early poiſoned by importance; and the world they act in differs ſo materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true intereſts, and when they ſucceed to the government, are frequently the moſt ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary ſucceſſion is, that the throne is ſubject to be poſſeſſed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement, to betray their truſt. The ſame national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the laſt ſtage of human weakneſs. In both theſe caſes the public becomes a prey to every miſcreant, who can tamper ſucceſsfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The moſt plauſible plea which hath ever been offered in favor of hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that it preſerves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the moſt barefaced falſity ever impoſed upon mankind. The whole hiſtory of England diſowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that diſtracted kingdom ſince the conqueſt, in which time there have been (including the Revolution) no leſs than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions.—Wherefore, inſtead of making for peace, it makes againſt it, and deſtroys the very foundation it ſeems to ſtand on.

The conteſt for monarchy and ſucceſſion, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, laid England in a ſcene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, beſides ſkirmiſhes and

ſiderres, were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry priſoner to Edward, who in his turn was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war and the temper of a nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward called to ſucceed him. The parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

This conteſt began in the reign of Henry the ſixth, and was not entirely extinguiſhed till Henry the ſeventh, in whom the families were united. Including a period of ſixty ſeven years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

In ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and aſhes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of GOD bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

If we enquire into the buſineſs of a king, we ſhall find that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene, and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle round. In abſolute monarchies, the whole weight of buſineſs, civil and military, lies on the king; the children of Iſrael in their requeſt for a king, urged this plea, "that he may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, as in England, a man would be puzzled to know what *is* his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the leſs buſineſs there is for a king. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its preſent ſtate it is unworthy the name, becauſe the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the houſe of commons, (the republican part in the conſtitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them. For it is the republican, and not the monarchical part of the conſtitution of England, which Engliſhmen glory in, viz. the liberty of chuſing an houſe of commons out of their own body—and it is eaſy to ſee that when republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues.—Why is the conſtitution of England ſickly, but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic, the crown hath engroſſed the commons?

In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoverish the nation, and set it together by the ears.—A pretty business indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thousand sterling a year for, and worshipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honest man to society, and in the sight of GOD, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

WHAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST ADAPTED TO THE RESEARCH OF TRUTH.

Translated from Brissot.

IF there was a being who could hesitate an instant on this question, it would evidently prove him a slave, and not ashamed of his condition.

Philosophers appear only in those countries where *men* exist. Under despotism, there are none; the greater part are automata; there are few beings who think, and still fewer who dare to make known their thoughts. The motion of all minds is pusillanimous and circumspect; and so great is the secret, insensible influence of despotism over them, that the free and audatious flight of genius appears a ridiculous censurable folly to the most sensible. At that period of depravity, truth, virtue, genius, national glory are annihilated.

But where the flight of genius is confined, it rises, developes, and soon overspreads the universe. Its glory is reflected on its country; and the homage which she gives, causes numbers to follow the same track.

Consult the archives of the universe; observe what government has produced the greatest men; from whence do we derive our knowledge? From Greece, from Rome. And since the destruction of these republics, what nation has made the greatest discoveries in philosophy, in morlity, in legislation? Let us do homage to the country which gave birth to Locke, Bacon, Sydney, Milton, Newton. Other countries may have given birth to better painters, more refined wits; but the country of philosophic genius, the country of truth, is that of liberty.

Without the liberty of thought, without the liberty of the press, there is no true philosophy; consequently no science brought to perfection. In the latter ages, a man was told, you shall believe such an absurdity, or be burnt; and he must have been either a martyr or an apostate. The philosopher now

is not reduced to this cruel extremity. In moſt civilized ſtates, the liberty of thought is allowed him; but few where the liberty of printing all his thoughts is granted. Governors fear that men whoſe ſouls are too ardent ſhould ſpread maxims dangerous to their authority. To have ſuch fears, is making the ſatire of their own government. Titus or Trajan would not have felt ſuch puſillanimity; it never can enter but into the mind of a Claudious or a Nero; their conſcience reproaches them with a multiplicity of crimes, and they dread to behold the too faithful mirror of truth.

From ſelf-intereſt, an enlightend ſovereign will permit the liberty of the preſs; but there is a ſtill greater motive which ought to determine him; the deſire of promoting knowledge: for if the author is conſtrained in his opinions, if he perceives the priſion, the ſcaffold, to be the reward of his labour, will he dare rend the veil of ignorance which covers all eyes? Will he dare, faithful hiſtorian, to retrace the evils which mankind have ſuffered by the ambitious folly of the conqueror? Will he dare to recur to the origin of ſociety, and ſhew the people, equal to their kings, ſtipulating with them their obedience for their ſafety, their happineſs for their fidelity? Will he dare to paint, in dark and ſombre colours, the tyrants who have deſtroyed the ſocial pact, or crown the Brutuſes, who with a courageous hand puniſhed them? Will he dare, in viewing the confuſed maſs of modern legiſlation, to point out their abuſes without dread of thoſe who protect them? Searching in the heart of man, and analiſing his organization, will he dare to declare to him his eſſence, his duties, his rights; ſhew him his law, the law of his nature, the law which no other can contradict, without being criminal? Will he venture to diſpel the miſt of ſuperſtition, paint the evils which it has occaſioned, ſubſtitute for her inhuman tenets the ſweet maxims of kind humanity? In a word, will he have courage to preach up truth, when it is the ſignal of inſtant perſecution?

Notwithſtanding all the efforts of oppreſſion, knowledge exiſts and will ever exiſt. There will always be in the darkeſt times, ſome enlightened beings; but they are not always courageous enough to make the voice of truth reſound every where. Fear, weakneſs, or deſpair, often prevents them; and a Tacitus or Sydney, are ſeldom to be found, when the ſcaffold awaits and rewards their exertions.

From the TRUE AMERICAN.

POLITICAL DEFINITIONS,

Occaſionally exemplified in the conduct and opinions of public characters.

LIBERTY.—EQUAL RIGHTS.—the right of doing that which doth not injure another, or others. Without this bleſſing, Man is a miſerable and degraded being, incapable of enjoying the ſweets of his labor, and of purſuing his own happineſs—tyrants and their ſycophants deteſt and dread liberty; it is loved and cheriſhed by the friends of humanity.

A Repreſentative Democracy, or *Pure Republic*, is that form of government where the ſovereignty reſides in the *People*, who delegate periodically certain powers to individuals of the community, to exerciſe for the common weal. Theſe delegates, or repreſentatives, are accountable to their conſtituents for their conduct. In this ſenſe, the general, as well as the ſtate governments, are repreſentative democracies.

An Energetic Government, is to be found only "*where every man, at the call of the Law, would fly to the ſtandard of the Law, and would meet invaſions of the public order, as his own private concern.*—But in the language of deſpotiſm, it means a power in the government, to do whatever it pleaſes, in defiance of the public will: thus that aſſemblage of abſurdity, corruption and miſchief, the King, Lords, and Commons of England; and the military tyranny of Pruſſia, afford correct ſpecimens of the kind of government, agreeable to the latter meaning.

National Debt, ſaid by ſome to be a national bleſſing; but in the opinion of the patriot it is an inſtrument of corruption and injuſtice, for it entails on poſterity "*burthens grievous to be borne.*"—If the firſt of theſe opinions be correct, thoſe ſubject to the Britiſh government muſt be ſupremely bleſt indeed; but as this is not the caſe, we are obliged to infer, that while it is a bleſſing to an iniquitous government, it is a curſe to the people.

Friends of Order, the "Band of Brothers" (ruffians I had almoſt ſaid) that laſhed the back of *Snyder* at Reading—the *thirty heroes* (I had almoſt ſaid cowards) that aſſaulted *Duane*, &c.—the bruiſing lawgiver and his colleague, (I ought to have ſaid lawbreaker) who waylaid and unmercifully beat *Tucker*; and the *honorable* the Judges that fined him the *immenſe* ſum of *one dollar* for the outrage.

Old Tories, ſuch as adhered to the "dear mother country," during the revultionary war.

New Tories, ſuch as ſubſcribe to the doctrine that Republicaniſm "means any thing or nothing"—advocates of a ſtanding

army, a ſedition and alien law, and other acts equally as *beneficial* to the public.

Monarchiſts,—Beings who reſemble men only in outward ſhape; who ſeek to bring mankind into bondage, by ſubjecting them to the arbitrary will of one mortal.—The *Great* Alexander of New-York is a real monarchiſt.

Ariſtocrats,—A band of nobles; privileged orders of any kind; any minor part of a community that would gormondize the whole power, and tyrannize over the major: as, for example, the leaders of the "ſect" who ſtile themſelves Federaliſts.

Jacobins—Dominican Friars, of the order of the dove, who had a hall in Paris, where before and after the commencement of the revolution, a political ſociety met, and were from that denominated Jacobins.—This word not only became current in every country in Europe, but was introduced into America alſo, where it was liberally applied by every cunning knave and credulous fool to all who had the virtue and courage to raiſe their voices againſt ariſtocratical meaſures during the reign of terror.

Truth—A thing to which many of the editors and correſpondents, of *Federal* news-papers in the United States, pay very little attention.

Innovation,—This term has had extenſive application. It has been applied to every new ſcheme which had for its object the benefit of mankind; to ſuch acts as ſubverted the evil inſtitutions of antiquity. Thus the reformation that took place in the 16th century was accordingly called a dangerous innovation. The revolutions of the laſt century in favour of liberty received the ſame appellation. The violent oppoſers of innovation are generally men of ſteril underſtanding, they demand a precedent for every thing. Had their grovelling notions prevailed, no improvements would have been made in the arts and ſciences. Thoſe grand diſcoveries which have aſtoniſhed and benefited mankind, would have remained concealed in the cell of ignorance.—Were theſe grovelling notions to prevail, alas! what would be the lot of humanity, "all dark and comfortleſs."—Of what avail is genius, if it is not to be employed? But for our comfort, the human mind cannot ſubmit to be fettered.—The doctrine that would blind it is unnatural—it is deteſtable—and can only be advocated by the enemies of the human race.

We have lately heard in various parts of the Union, cries of *Innovation! Innovation!* This bellowing it ſeems was raiſed againſt Preſident *Jefferſon*—and for what? 1ſt. Becauſe he preferred the mode of addreſſing the members of congreſs by

the rational title of "*Fellow-Citizens*," to that of uſing the unmeaning term of *Gentlemen*. 2nd. Inſtead of following the plan of addreſſing Congreſs in perſon, as the practice in a certain European Kingdom, he preferred that of a communication by Meſſage, as it rendered an anſwer unneceſſary, which might, as it had done before, coſt the nation ſome thouſands of dollars.—Judge ye, People of America, if ſuch Innovations are not becoming and juſt?

Contempt of Court—Decided lately to mean, contempt of ſuch contemptible creatures as Griffith, the calumniator of *Jefferſon*, and libeller of the *Rights of Man*.

Agitators—A Junto who are ſtriving with all their might to deſtroy the confidence which the people have juſtly placed in the preſent Adminiſtration of the General Government.

BACON ON INNOVATION.

EVERY remedy is an innovation. He who will not apply new remedies, muſt expect new diſeaſes. Time is the greateſt innovator, and why may we not imitate time? Ancient precedents are unſuitable, and late ones corrupt and degenerate. Let the ignorant ſquare their actions by example. As they who firſt derive honor to their family, are commonly more worthy than thoſe who ſucceed them, ſo innovations generally excel imitations. An obſtinate adherence to cuſtom is as turbulent a thing as innovation. Since things, of their own courſe, change for the worſe, if they are not by prudence altered for the better, what end can there be of the ill? The ſlaves of cuſtom are the ſport of time.

FROM THE AURORA.

A breif view of the ſtate of the Union, preparatory to the commencement of the twenty ſeventh year of Independence.

THE magnitude of our ſubject indicates it as an object for a volume, but the urgency of time dictates its compreſſion into narrower limits. Brief ſketches may be attended with the beſt occaſional impreſſions, and may enlarge the collection of materials for the man of buſineſs, the political economiſt, the hiſtorian and the ſtateſman.

The American eſtabliſhment is *human*—its agents are *men*, with like imperfections as their forefathers in the old and new world—with like paſſions as their European cotemporaries.——

Wherever, therefore, they have deeply erred, it will be criminal to ſuppreſs a proper notice of things which ought in prudence and virtue to be cured.

In the laſt moments of the Britſh North-American provinces, there exiſted circumſtances in many of them, impairing the rights of conſcience in *man*, and of courſe, impiouſly derogatory from the majeſty of heaven. An exiſting law of New-York continued it (tho' Canada fell in 1763) felony of death without benefit of clergy for a Roman Catholic miniſter of religion to be *found* within the limits of the province, and many circumſtances had been ingeniouſly combined to give a degree of "exclusive eſtabliſhment" to the church of England in their city and antient countries. In ſome of the eaſtern colonies, there were like ingenious modifications of laws and meaſures producing *favour* to the independent or congregational church, and interfering particularly with the rights of conſcience of the *Hebrew* and the *Roman*, as well as others. Even at this time in ſome of the eaſtern ſtates, under the ſelf-deceiving influence of antient habits, and reſoning free-men of the beſt moral and religous characters, are compelled under cetain circumſtances, to contribute to the ſupport of miniſters and churches, whoſe conduct and tenets they diſapprove and diſbelieve. Let us remember, that if the miniſters of a church, preach doctrines which irreproachable men ſincerely and innocently diſbelieve and diſapprove, they may think it a duty to neglect the doctrines, & not to contribute to the ſupport of the teachers. They may look with pious anguiſh at the example of miniſters of the mild & ſelf-denying JESUS reſorting to the *knotty ſtaves* of the civil power to inforce *by diſtreſs* collections from themſelves, from the poor, from the widowed and from the fatherleſs of other chriſtian ſects, the much needed pieces of ſilver for the propagation of repu.ed error.

In Maryland the Catholic church was held before the revolution, under the *ban* of government. In Virginia the pubic lands and public treaſures could be obtained only by the church of England.—The *Pilgrims* from the old world, hunted out of Europe by *civil and religous* perſecution, baniſhed, in their turns, even the harmleſs members of the *non-reſiſting* churches out of their new aſylums.

Williams and *Penn*, in Rhode-Iſland and Pennſylvania, had planted *the genuine ſeeds of the tree of religous liberty*. Foſtered by them and protected by divine providence, the heaven deſcended plant ſhot deep, roſe high, and ſpread its roots and branches through the whole American ſoil and atmoſphere. It is however to be remembered, that *the declaration of indepndance*

did not neceſſarily reach the ſubject of *religous* liberty. It was from domeſtic and internal ſources, that religous liberty principally ſuffered, and not much from the immediate interpoſition of Great Britain. Some applications from the eaſtward in favor of religous ſufferers, were paſſed over for a time in ſilence, leſt the cauſe of *civil* liberty ſhould be injured by *eccleſiaſtical* diſſentions. Since our final eſtabliſhment, as independant ſtates, by arms and treaties, under the favor of heaven, the ſublime examples of *Williams and of Penn* have received the unalterable ſanctions of many of the ſtates, and of the body of the American nation. In the reforms of their conſtitutions and laws, the governments of the union and of ſeveral of the ſtates have either *expreſsly* or *in effect* excluded *the controul of the rights of conſcience and the divine government of the human ſoul, from any ſacrilegious interpoſitions of our legiſlative bodies.*

Such has been the advancement of ſome of the individual American ſtates, in the all important concern of religous liberty, ſince July 1776—ſuch the advancement of the *national* body politic—and ſuch ſhould be the deportment of the remaining ſtates, if they deſire to keep the injured from emigration, and to ſecure the eſteem of their ſiſter ſtates :—ſuch ſhould be their return to the walks of practical piety, if they deſire to obtain the favor of the ſole and ſupreme governor of the human ſoul.

The population of our country, ſince 1776, has taken a courſe eminently favourable to its independence. There are very imperfect data from which to aſſert the preciſe numbers of our people in that year. But it is believed that 2,100.000 perſons, of all diſcriptions differs little from the truth. By the cenſus in 1791, our numbers were nearly four millions, and in 1801 the cenſus proved them to be about 5,305,000. Thus it appears that the *natural* ſtrength of our nation is two and one half times that which it was at its birth, 25 years before the date of our laſt enumeration ; and it is an intereſting fact to the preſervation of the union; that the central ſtate is the firſt in white population. Pennſylvania has 600,000 free inhabitants, and lies in actual contact with New York, New Jerſey, Deleware, Maryland, Virginia, and the new ſtate on Erie and the Ohio.

It was believd in 1776, that territorial diſputes would ſhake the interior of the United States. Virginia led the way to internal and domeſtic peace, by a voluntary conſtitutional ceſſion to the three contigious ſtates of North Carolina, Maryland and Pennſylvania, of all the countries covered by their reſpective charters : without price and without condition : Maſſachuſetts and New York are quieted, Jerſey and Pennſylvania, and New-York and Pennſylvania have ſettled by mutual conſent : ſo have the two Carolinas : ſo have Georgia and South Carolina ;

judgments unalterably confirmed, have ſettled the controverſy between Pennſylvania and Connecticut: The United States and Georgia have amicably ſettled, and no diſpute remains open but that beetween Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut. If they do not agree the union will make the looſer acquiece. The boundaries between the Britiſh provinces and us, as well as thoſe between Spain and the United States are likewiſe adjuſted. Lines of demarcation between the Indian country and our acquiſitions of the right of ſoil, are clearly aſcertained and faithfully obſerved. Diſſentions about internal boundaries and neighbouring limits might have been productive of vaſt evils in our infantine ſtate, but they have not occured—the chances of quarrel are removed by the ſettlement of the limits—and *the favourte child of Columbus* is arrived at the 27th year of manly ſenſe and ſtrength.

The ſum of our exports in 1775, when our commerce ceaſed, is difficult preciſely to determine. There are data from which it may be fixed at the higheſt, at nine millions of dollars. In the laſt returned year our exports of our own productions and manufactures were about *four times* that ſum, and our whole exports were above ten times that ſum. Our total exports were by the return to September, 1801, *ninety three millions* of dollars. They were ſhipt directly to every maratime ſtate in both hemiſpheres, in every clime, in every ſea.

In 1776, our exports were confined to national bottoms, but now we have the opportunity, if neceſſary, to ſupport our agriculture aud manufactures by the prudent uſe of ſhips and veſſels of all amicable foreign nations. Thus we may ever have ſome neutral carriers from the European ſtates, while others are warring with each other, which may prove highly beneficial to agriculture. If we find it prudent to exclude foreign ſhips, we have only to paſs the neceſſary laws, and ſhut them out as formerly. If we find the uſe of foreign ſhips either proffitable or neceſſary, we can, by reaſon of our independence, admit them, which was not formerly the caſe, when the Britiſh parliament made *all our laws* of trade and navigation.

The tonage, loaded by the United States, in each of the laſt three years, was *the ſecond* in the world, and though it may decreaſe on the peace, it may be ſafely preſumed, that it will not fall below *the third*. Whatever we looſe in tonage, we ſhall gain that and more in domeſtic induſtry and ſkill—in agriculture, arts and manufactures.

The monied and commercial corporations of the United States are more perfectly *ſolid*, and in a more undoubted ſtate of *credit* than thoſe of any other nation upon earth.

Our public ſtocks and public credit are in the ſame happy ſituation.

If the people of the United States had remained connected with the ancient empire, they would have owed *a ſhare, amounting to two thouſand three hundred millions of dollars* of the Britiſh public debt, and they would have been above *one fourth* of the whole nation. They now owe, including the ſtate debt, about one thirtieth part of that ſum, while the Britiſh nation owes about twenty-nine thirtieths. *So firm is our independence in regard to the order and efficiency of our finances, and the comparative moderation of the public burdens.*

We have entered upon the twenty ſeventh year of our Independence, without *one dollar of national exciſe or land tax*, which leaves thoſe two ſure and great ſources of revenue for any unexpected or inevitable contingency of foreign attack upon us; for we war not upon the reſt of mankind, it being againſt the genius of our country and government, to commence unneceſſary wars, particularly of ambition.

Our fiſheries and coaſting trade, ſure nurſeries for ſeamen, probably employ more tonage and mariners than all we poſſeſſed in 1776.—The China trade is completely open to us ſince that year, and inſtructs our commanders in the management of the largeſt ſhips, in all the varieties of ſeas and climates, in the arts of preſerving men and ſhips in long voyages. The vaſt increaſe and bulk of our produce rendering our exports capable of filling more ſhips than thoſe of any other country, we are able to compenſate amicable foreign powers for a liberal treatment, with more eaſe to ourſelves and advantage to them than any other nation.

Our conſumption of the finer manufacturies of peace goods, and of many other kinds, renders us the moſt important of all cuſtomers to the foreign manufacturing countries. This circumſtance *alone* enables our country to effect reaſonable arrangements with all foreign governments. It is capable of being rendered eminently conducive to the ſecurity of peace, and to exemption from foreign injuſtice and injury.

The agriculture of the United States of 1802, bears the moſt favoraule compariſon with its true condition in 1776.—The improvement and extention of our farming, buildings, the extention of the irrigation of hills and mountain ſides, the introduction of the large red clover of Flanders, the care and improvement in the buſineſs of compoſt and manure, the recovery of worn out fields, the ſuperiority of our draft cattle, and of the principal breeding animals employed or raiſed on farms, the increaſe and improved qualities of butter, lard, cheeſe, ſalted

beef and pork, bacon, candles, flour, tobacco, rice, cotton and all other things produced by agriculture, the prices of farm lands, and the vaſt extention of houſehold and ſhop manufactures, which immediately benfit the cultivator and land holder, are abundant evidences of the improvement, extenſion, progreſs and preſent vigor of American agriculture. All our exports of American and *foreign* growth and manufacture, were in 1789 about ſeventeen millions and a half of dollars, and in one of the laſt years the *American* articles alone were worth double that ſum, tho' a much greater values is employed and conſumed by our manufacturies at home. This flouriſhing and improving condition of the landed intereſt, increaſes with a ſure and ſteady pace. The United States have obtained a new million of dollars, from foreign markets, for *each* of the laſt five years, on the article of American *cotton* alone.

The ſituation of the United States is, in no reſpect more improved ſince the fourth day of July, 1776, than in regard to the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the uſeful and neceſſary arts and manufactures, and the production and economy of the raw materials and ſupplies neceſſary for their continuance and extenſion. Though our breweries are very much increaſed, we have entirely diſcontinued the importation of malt. We have eſtabliſhed four glaſs houſes in Pennſylvania, one in the ſtate of New-York, one in Boſton, one in Marylad, and one in Connecticut. There may be others unknown. We have excluded foreign loaf and lump ſugars by making ourſelves three millions and a half of pounds per annum. The carriages for the conveyance of perſons amounted in November to twenty-three thouſand, and there are more made in America, for we export many more than we import. The wool and fur hats of Pennſylvania alone, were in 1790, about 212,000, and were more than her conſumption, and we find hatters in *all* towns, ſmall and great, of the northern, the middle, the ſouthern and the weſtern ſtates. The general uſe of cotton clothing, will leave us much more wool for our hatters. We import wool from foreign countries, which was not allowed by the Britiſh trade laws in our colonial ſtate. Our ſlitting mills were but three or four before the revolution, for when we were beginning to increaſe their number on account of our limited quantities of iron, coal, and wood, of our innumerable mill-ſeats, the dearneſs of labour, and the artiſts we were drawing from Ireland, Germany, Britain, and other parts, an act was paſſed by a tranſatlantic legiſlature, *prohibiting the erection of any more mills for rolling and ſlitting iron or copper.*—It was ſaid in the Engliſh parliament, by a ſtateſman, ranked among the moſt favorable to us, that America muſt

not be allowed *to manufacture a hob nail.* Thus were our artiſts to be reſtrained, our arts and trades checked, we to be taxed with all the charges of importing goods we could make ourſelves, and to uſe goods, made in England, by men burthend with their immence and increaſing impoſts, taxes and exciſes.—We formerly imported many ſhoes, boots and ſlippers from England, but tho' importation is now open from all foreign places we export more than we import of Cordwainer's articles. All our working carriages, plows wheel-barrows, hand barrows, corn-fans, wheels for ſpinning wool and flax, are made here; or at leaſt we import leſs of theſe things than we export. Our importation of diſtilled ſpirits, deducting our exports of them, is not half as large, in proportion, as formerly, owing to the conſiderable increaſe of breweries and the great extenſion of the domeſtic diſtilleries from grain, fruit and molaſſes. The cabinet work, picture framing and other ornamental work are become extenſive, excellent and elegant, and are far beyond our conſumption. The American engravings are equal to thoſe of Great Britain in 1776, and more might be ſaid.

The recent Literary Fair has produced an extention of book printing and all connected and auxiliary arts, twenty or thirty, perhrps forty or fifty times beyond their ſtate at the era of Independence. The manufacture of quadrants, the compaſs, pentagraphs, theodolites, hydrometers, thermometers, and other ſcientific inſtruments has kept full pace with typography. The *ſhop* manufactures of leather exceed all our reſources in hides and ſkins, for we import much of thoſe raw materials and ſome dreſſed, nearly all of which are made up into manufactures.—The *domeſtic or houſehold* manufactures of wool and flax, are equal to all the raw materials we raiſe and import, and we alſo manufacture much hemp, importing conſiderably in addition to our production, and exporting very little in the raw ſtate. The *domeſtic* manufacture of cotton is univerſal, even in the interior counties of thoſe ſtates which do not produce it; and in *the cotton-raiſing* ſtates it may be computed as equivalent to *ten yards* of various cotton cloths for every perſon. Our iron branch is ſo great as to call for large importations to ſupply our manufactures, inſtead of the great export of pigs and bars which took place in 1775. Ship building is vaſtly increaſed and the quality and ſize of our ſhips are far ſuperior to thoſe of the veſſels built before the revolution. The manufactures of gunpowder, braſs and iron cannon, iron ball and ſhells, muſquets, rifles, ſwords and other inſtruments of defence, are prodigiouſly advanced, and it is conceded on all hands, that it is neceſſary to foſter, and even force theſe military branches. The manufact-

are of silver of plate, and all articles of silver, gold and fancy work, wants no aid to enable us to supply two such nations as our own. We export soap and candles by millions of pounds, and the two manufactures of the dairy. Glue, starch, hair-powder, tin wares, and many other articles, the detail of which would fatigue are made in America to the extent of our consumption. A great and sure *domestic* market for our raw materials, fuel, provisions, forage, and building materials for our manufactures has thus been created since 1776. Manufacturing tenants for our towns, villages, houses, work shops and grounds have been attracted and fixed; and independence on foreign nations has been increased and firmly secured by a recurrence to our own agricultural and manufacturing capacities.

Such are a part only of the numerous and great ameliorations of our situation, since the Declaration of Independence. May each return of the anniversary, witness more and more of the like happy dispensations of a beneficent providence.

FRANKLIN.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHARACTER OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, was born in the year 1743, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, where he now resides. His father was a reputable land holder of that county, and gave *this* his eldest son, a college education at the university of William and Mary, in the city of Williamsburg. After passing his degrees, being designed for the bar, Mr. Jefferson commenced a student at law, under the guidance of George Wythe, since, the venerable judge, and sole chancellor of Virginia.

In 1766, Mr. Jefferson came to the bar of the supreme court of his native state, and continued to practice therein with great success and reputation, until the commencement of the American revolution in 1775, and the consequent occlusion of the courts of justice; during this period of active practice, the industrious mind of Jefferson found time to digest the first volume of reports of adjudged cases in the supreme courts of Virginia,

which were ever exhibited in that ſtate, and to this day, are admitted authority in thoſe courts, remaining a monument of his early labors, and uſeful talents.

In 1774, when all America were rouſed into action by the aggravated wrongs of the Britiſh government, Mr. Jefferſon ſtepped forward a bold and able champion of his country's rights, and publiſhed his much admired pamphlet, "Sumary View of the rights of Britiſh America," addreſſed to the king, which brought forward againſt the author, threats of proſecution for treaſon, by lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia; threats which produced no other effect on the independent mind of Jefferſon, than publicly to avow himſelf the author, prepared to meet all conſequences.

About this time Mr. Jefferſon married the daughter of Mr. Wayles an eminent counſellor at law, and continued to enjoy uninterrupted domeſtic felicity, in the ſociety of one of the moſt amiable women, until the year 1780, when by her death he became the mourner of her virtues, and the guardian of their two daughters, and ſurviving iſſue, to whoſe education and ſettlement in life, and the ſervice of his country, he has ever ſince, faithfully devoted himſelf, ſtill remaining a widower.

In the year 1775, Mr. Jefferſon was elected a member of the Virginia convention, and on the 4th of Auguſt in the ſame year, one of the members to repreſent the ſtate, then colony of Virginia, in Congreſs.

In that memorable year, 1776, the natal year of American emancipation from Britiſh tyranny, and of the independence and ſovereignty of the United States, Mr. Jefferſon was one of a committee of five, to wit, Thomas Jefferſon, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingſton; appointed to draft the declaration of independence; and it was from the pen, and enlightened mind of Jefferſon, firſt named of the committee, that that glorious inſtrument proceeded, which was reported by the committee, and unanimouſly adopted by Congreſs, intitled "*The Declaration of Independence, &c.*— An inſtrument, which, ſo long as the records of time ſhall endure, will perpetuate the fame of its author, and preſerve in the American mind, forever and inſeparable, the names of *Independence* and *Jefferſon*.

In the ſame year, 1776, the ardent mind of Jefferſon, eagerly purſuing the glorious principles of the revolution, and foreſeeing that ſo long as the corruptions of Britiſh ſyſtems exiſted, we were independent in name, not in fact, produced, for the adoption of the legiſlature of his native ſtate, the four following important acts, to wit:

1. An act for eſtabliſhing religious freedom.

2. An act to regulate deſcents, to prevent eſtates entail, and the rights of primogeniture.

3. An act for the apportionment of crimes and puniſhments.

4. An act to eſtabliſh public ſchools.

The influence of theſe acts upon the relative principles they embrace will be univerſally ſeen, and felt by thoſe who prize civil liberty, as a primary bleſſing, and regard the preſervation of it, as among the firſt benefits of GOD to man, whilſt ſyſtems of univerſal toleration in matters of religion; for an equal diſtribution of property, and in ſubvertion of the ariſtocratic and unnatural principle of entail and primogeniture right: for ameliorating the ſanguinary code of criminal law; and for extending to the pooreſt claſs of our citizens, the benefit of education at the public expence, will be viewed as the emanations of a great and good mind, zealouſly endeavoring to promote the happineſs, and improve the condition of his fellow beings.

Equally evincive of watchful regard to the rights of his countrymen, was the ſcheme and ſuggeſtion made by Mr. Jefferſon, for the formation and adoption of the conſtitution of Virginia, in the ſame year for prefixing thereto "A bill of Rights declaratory of the natural and unalienable rights of man," which was accordingly done.

In the year 1778, Mr. Jefferſon being then a member of the Virginia legiſlature, preſented to that body the act "to prevent the importation of ſlaves," which was enacted into a law in the month of October, in the ſame year, and was ſhortly after followed by another act "to authoriſe manumiſſions," being the commencement of a ſyſtem of gradual emancipation, alſo propoſed by him.

In the year 1779, Mr. Jefferſon, at the age of 36, was choſen governor of Virginia, and continued in that office until June, 1781, during which time the ſtate experienced three invaſions, and was alſo brought into a critical ſtate of colliſion reſpecting its boundary lines with two neighboring ſtates, North Carolina and Pennſylvania. His conduct in that ſtation, amidſt the jarring conflicts and trying difficulties of foreign invaſion and domeſtic diſquietude, was ſuch, as ſecured to him ſix months after he left the office, and upon the fulleſt public enquiry, the *unanimous* vote of thanks of the legiſlature conſiſting of 180 members, "for his attentive adminiſtration of the powers of the executive whilſt in office."

It was during the ſame year, 1781, amidſt the cares of government and ſcenes of private affliction, that Mr. Jefferſon prepared his celebrated work, afterwards publiſhed in France, and

which he modeſtly ſtyled, '*Notes on Virginia.*' In this work, ſo juſtly admired by all the learned world, for its philoſophical reſearch, ingenious theory, and able diſquiſition, equally evicencing an enlaged, liberal, and pious mind; the author, in a ſuperior ſtyle of eloqsence, boldly attacks, and fully refutes the fallacious theories of Mr. Buffon and the Abbe Raynal, which tend to diſparage the animal and its ſpecies, both man and beaſt, of the American world, and reduce them to a ſcale ſmaller than thoſe of Europe; vindicating with truth and intelligence, the equal diſtribution of nature's bleſſings to America.

In the year 1783, Mr. Jefferſon was again appointed to a ſeat in congreſs from his native ſtate, and in the following year, on the 7th of May, was nominated by that honorable body miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States to the court of France, as the ſucceſſor of our illuſtrious Franklin, whither he embarked early in the ſame year, and remained abſent from the United States in the execution of that important truſt, until the month of October, 1789, when he returned home by permiſſion of the then preſident Waſhington, who, upon being elected to the chief magiſtracy of the federal government, immediately deſtined Mr. Jefferſon to fill the next moſt honorable and confidential ſtation in the executive government, near his own perſon.

During his miſſion to France, Mr. Jefferſon with that peculiar addreſs, intelligence and attention to promote the eſſential intereſts of the United States, which directs all his conduct, obtained from the French king an arrete highly beneficial to the American commerce, for the free admiſſion, exempt from the cuſtomary foreign duties, of oil, fiſh and whalebone, the product of the American fiſheries, into certain ports, and for the ſale of American built ſhips in all the ports of France; benefits which our eaſtern brethren continued to reap the peculiar advantage of, until the commencement of the revolutionary convulſions which have agitated that nation.

About the ſame period alſo, Mr. Jefferſon, in conjunction with our immortal Franklin, negociated with a miniſter from the court of Pruſſia, then at the Hague, that celebrated treaty known by the name of the "*Pruſſian Treaty*," in which an aſtoniſhed world has, for the firſt time, ſeen a public avowal and poſitive proviſion by treaty, between two ſovereign and independent nations, for the eſtabliſhment of thoſe two great and glorious principles, promotive of univerſal peace and happineſs, viz. 1ſt, '*That free ſhips ſhall make free goods;*' and 2d, '*that privateering in time of war ſhall be aboliſhed;*' principles which it were to be wiſhed could be rendered univerſal and eternal.—Mr. Adams, late preſident of the United States, was one of the

commiſſion for negociating this treaty, and on its completion it was ſent over to London, where Mr. Adams then reſided as miniſter of the United States, for his ſigniture. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Adams could not be content to retain to himſelf a ſhare of the glory which reflects on the authors of this celebrated treaty. But unhappily for our country, whilſt he was preſident of the United States, he nominated his ſon John Quincey Adams, as miniſter to the court of Pruſſia, for the expreſs purpoſe, as declared, of renewing the treaty with that nation, which having been limited to continue in force for ten years only, had expired. Accordingly another treaty was made by his ſon with Pruſſia, approved by a majority of the ſenate, and ratified by the preſident, but which inſtead of renewing and continuing the old treaty, is in itſelf a new one, expreſsly abandoning and renouncing, the two ineſtimable principles, 1ſt, '*That free ſhips ſhall make free goods*;' and 2d, "*that privateering in time of war be aboliſhed*;" principles which, it appears from the correſpondence accompanying the negociation, laid before the ſenate of the United States by the Preſident, the wiſe and enlightened miniſters of the Pruſſian monarch, were bro't with great difficulty and reluctance to abandon on the earneſt ſolicitation and reiterated demand of the American negociator, under the ſuggeſtion that the maratime powers, *particularly Great Britain*, would never ſanction or permit them.

In the year 1789. Mr. Jefferſon being returned to the United States, and appointed by Preſident Waſhington, ſecretary to the department of ſtate, immediately entered on the arduous duties of that important ſtation, having previouſly ſtipulated with the preſident, that in conſideration of the many years abſence from his family and eſtate, he might be permitted, at the expiration of the conſtitutional term for which the preſident was elected, to retire from public ſervice.

The firſt reſult of the labors of Mr. Jefferſon in the department of ſtate, were exhibited to Congreſs in the following reports, to wit:

1ſt. A report on the fiſheries of the United States.

2d. A report on coins, weights and meaſures.

3d. A report on the waſte and unappropriated lands of the United States.

4th. A report on the privileges and reſtrictions on the commerce of the United States in foreign countries.

Each of theſe reports diſplay the uſual accuracy, information and intelligence of the writer.

But it was reſerved for a more critical and delicate period in the affairs of the U. States, that the pre-eminent talents of the

American ſecretary ſhould become moſt conſpicuous, and intereſtingly uſeful to his country : the non execution of the treaty of peace with the United States on the part of Great Britain ; her detention of our Weſtern Poſts, and the attendant ſpoilations on our commerce, both by Great Britain and France, then at war with each other, added to the intrigues of the miniſter of the latter, Genet, all conduced to a ſituation difficult and perplexing. Beſides which, Spain continued to withhold from us the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, ſo eſſential to all Weſtern America. In this ſtate of things, the juſt confidence which the diſcriminating mind of Waſhington had repoſed in Mr. Jefferſon, was amply repaid by that promptneſs, zeal and ability with which the American ſecretary, contributed by his labours, to relieve the executive from embarraſſment. Through a ſeries of maſterly and unequalled diplomatic correſpondence, which he maintained, at the ſame time with the reſpective miniſters of Great Britain and France—namely, Hammond and Genet ; He traverſed and rebutted their reſpective cauſes of charge and complaint againſt the United States, and having fully proved the various agreſſions and infractions of treaty on the part of their reſpective governments, pointed to the means for preſerving the honor and maintaing the rights of his own country, whilſt alike ſuperior to the intrigues of Great Britain or of France, he fully manifeſted that he held no particular attachment to any foreign nation, but was equally prepared with the deciſion, firmneſs and intelligence of a true American, to oppoſe and reſiſt the aggreſſions of all. The recall of Genet, and the appointment of his ſucceſſor, with the ſubſequent proceedings between the United States and France, the appointment of Mr Jay, his treaty with Great Britain, and the recall of Mr. Hammond, appointment of Mr. Liſton, and ſubſequent proceedings with Great Britain are all well known. In reſpect to Spain, the labors of Mr. Jefferſon were more immediately effective and complete. Having poſſeſſed the Commiſſioners of the United States then at Madrid, negociating a treaty with the Court of Spain, with the moſt ample and pointed inſtructions, and of the form and proviſions of a treaty, predicated on the baſis of the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, it only remained for Mr. Thomas Pinckney, then Miniſter from the United States at London, under ſpecial inſtruction from the Preſident, and appointed envoy for that purpoſe, to repair to Madrid, and ſeizing the favorable object for effecting it, to accompliſh this deſirable work. This was accordingly done, with equal promptneſs and deciſion on his part, and jointly to that and the labours of the American ſecretary in the cabinet, are the United States indebted for the moſt liberal, hon-

orable, and beneficial treaty they have ever yet entered into with a foreign nation.

About this time, having at the preſſing entreaty of the then Preſident Waſhington, remained one year longer at the head of the department of ſtate, than he had before ſtipulated to do, he reſigned his office, and retired with the warmeſt thanks and regret of the preſident, Waſhington, to his eſtate at Montecello, in Albemarle county, Virginia, where he continued for upwards of two years uninterruptedly to enjoy the ſweets of domeſtic eaſe, and a reſpite from the fatigues of public life, following with avidity his favorite purſuits of philoſophical reſearch and agricultural improvement, until the voice of his country again ſummoned him to the more active ſcenes of public duty, and placed him in nomination for the preſidential chair, as the ſucceſſor of Waſhington. The iſſue of that election is well known, and but for a falſe return in one ſtate, and the ſuppreſſion of a return in another, Mr. Jefferſon would have been declared Preſident; as the returns however, ſtood before Congreſs, it appeared that he had 68 votes, and the latter 71, conſequently the latter was declared Preſident, and the former Vice-Preſident of the United States.

In the month of January, 1797, Mr. Jefferſon was elected Preſident of the American Philoſophical Society, held at Philadelphia, as ſucceſſor of the great and virtuous Rittenhouſe, who was the immediate ſucceſſor of the immortal Franklin, the founder of the ſociety.

During the adminiſtration of Mr. Adams, many unjuſt, and it is thought, unconſtitutional laws were enacted by Congreſs, and received the ſigniture of the Preſident, "having a direct tendency to deſtroy the liberties of the people." The time having arrived when a new election of a firſt magiſtrate was to take place, Mr. Jefferſon was again looked to by the friends of our excellent Conſtitution as the beſt guardian of their rights; and notwithſtanding the united exertions of an ambitious faction, to diſappoint the wiſhes of an enlightened people, he was declared Preſident of the United States; and on the 4th of March, 1801, entered on the duties of that office. Since that time, his conduct has been ſuch, as to entitle him to the confidence of every honeſt American.

Such, Fellow-citizens, is the TRUE and REAL character of THOMAS JEFFERSON unaided by artificial colouring, or the falſe varniſh of deceptive flattery.

CHARACTER OF ALBERT GALLATIN,

As drawn by Mr. JOHN THOMPSON, *late of Virginia, deceased.*

In his death Virginia has loſt one of her brighteſt ſons; Liberty and the conſtitution one of their ableſt advocates; and ſociety one of its richeſt ornaments.

WHEN I ſelect the names of Gallatin, Lvingſton, and Nicholas, I am not unmindful of the merits and tallents of many other gentlemen. I have ſelected them becauſe they have been expoſed to the moſt cruel obloquies of your party. Mr. Gallatin has been perſecuted with all the deteſtable rancour of envy and malice. The accuracy of his information, the extent of his knowledge, the perſpicuity of his ſtyle, the moderation of his temper, and the irreſiſtable energy of his reaſoning powers, render him the ableſt advocate that ever appeared in the cauſe of truth and liberty. Patient and perſevering, temperate and and firm, no error eſcapes his vigilance, no calumny provokes his paſſions. To expoſe the blunders & abſurdities of his adverſaries, is the only revenge which he will condeſcend to take for their inſolent invectives. Serene in the midſt of clamours, he exhibits the arguments of his opponents in their genuine colours, he diveſts them of the tinſel of declamation and the cobwebs of ſophiſtry, he detects the moſt plauſible errors, he expoſes the moſt latent abſurdities, he holds the "mirror up" to folly, and reaſons upon every ſubject with the readineſs of intuition, and the certainty of demonſtration. Elevated above the intrigues of parties, and the weakneſſes of the paſſions; he is never tranſported into any exceſs by the zeal of his friends, or the virulence of his enemies. His object is the happineſs of the people, his means economy, liberty, and peace; his guide the conſtitution. The ſympathies which faſcinate the heart and miſlead the underſtanding, have never allured him from the arduous purſuit of truth, through her moſt intricate mazes. Never animated by the impetuous and turbulent feelings which agitate popular aſſemblies, he preſerves in the midſt of contendig factions, that coolneſs of temper and that accuracy of thought, which philoſophy has hitherto claimed as the peculiar attribute of her cloſet meditations. He unites to the energy of eloquence, and the confidence of integrity, the preciſion of mathematics, the method of logic, and the treaſures of experience. His opponents ſlander him and admire him, they aſſail him with ignorant impertinence, and pitileſs malice, and yet they feel that he is the darling of philoſophy, the apoſtle of truth, and the favorite votary of liberty. Their hatred, like the rebellion of Satan,

proceeds from the impatience of any ſuperiority. There is a daily beauty in his life which makes them ugly. Inſtead of imitating his excellence, they attempt to conceal it by a maſs of obliquy; inſtead of reverencing his unparalled wiſdom and virtue, they ſharpen the dagger of falſehood, and prepare the poiſoned arrows of envy. The men who are ſupported by a foreign faction, have the effrontery to vilify him becauſe he is a foreigner. Virtue and genius are not peculiar to America. They have flouriſhed in every country and in every age. The merits of men are not to be aſcertained by geographical boundaries. The mind has no country but the univerſe. Patriotiſm is not a narrow and illiberal prejudice in favor of the ſoil unon which we happened to be born. It is a rational and noble attachment to the country which gives us protection, and which ſecures our happineſs.—It is not incompatible with univerſal philanthropy; on the contrary, it is a modification of benevolence, ſoftened by ſociety, and ſtrengthened by gratitude. Mr. Galatin is attached to the conſtitution becauſe it is free; to the people becauſe they are generous and amiable; and to the country becauſe he has found in it an aſylum from oppreſſion and miſery.

Are not theſe ties at leaſt as binding as the ſhakles of prejudice and habit? But the conduct of Mr. Gallatin is his beſt vindication. This foreigner has defended the conſtitution againſt the attacks of native Americans, and has diſplayed a noble ardour in the defence of his adopted country, whilſt many of her ſons repoſe in inglorious apathy, and whilſt others aſſail her with deteſtable treachery, and unnatural hatred.

SKETCH *of the life of the late* NATHANIEL GREEN, *Major General in the Forces of the United States of America.*

BY MATHEW CAREY.

THIS gallant officer, whoſe death is ſo generally and ſo juſtly regretted, was born in the town of Warwick, Kent county, Rhode Iſland, in or about the year 1741, and was the ſecond ſon of a reſpectable citezen of the ſame name, (deſcended from one of the firſt ſettlers of the coloney) who was extenſively concerned in lucrative iron-works, the property of which, at his death, (prior to the war) he left to his children.

The General was endowed with an uncommon degree of judgment and penetration, which, with a benevolent manner and affable behaviour, acquired him a number of valuable friends, by

whoſe intereſt and influence, he was, at an early period of life, choſen a member of the aſſembly of the then colony of Rhode-Iſland. This truſt, in which he gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to his conſtituents, he continued to poſſeſs, until, and at, the period, when the folly and madneſs of England ſevered a world from her empire.

After the ſkirmiſhes at Lexington and Concord, when a ſpirit of reſiſtance ſpread, like wild fire, over the continent, Rhode Iſland was not deficient in her contributions for the general defence. She raiſed three regiments of militia, the command whereof was given to Mr. Greene, who was nominated brigadier general.—The liberty, ſafety, and proſperity of his country being expoſed to imminent danger, the pacific principles of quakeriſm, in which he had been educated, proved inſufficient to repreſs the ardent ſpirit of liberty with which his boſom glowed.

He led the troops under his command to Cambridge, and was preſent at the evacuation of Boſton by a force which, in England had been vauntingly ſtated as treble the number that would be requiſite to dragoon America into unconditional ſubmiſſion.

General Greene's merit and abilities, as well in the council as in the field, were not long unnoticed by general Waſhington, who repoſed in him the utmoſt confidence, and paid a particular deference to his advice and opinion, on all occaſions of doubt and difficulty. This excited the jealouſy of ſeveral officers, of older date, and higher rank, who were not wanting in endeavors to ſupplant him: but in vain—the commander in chief knew and priſed his worth as it deſerved.

He was appointed major general by congreſs, the 26th of Auguſt, 1776. Towards the cloſe of that year, he was at the Trenton ſurpriſe; and at the beginning of the next was at the battle of Princeton, two enterprizes not more happily planned, than judiciouſly and bravely executed, in both of which he diſplayed his talents, ſerving his novitiate under the American Fabius.

At the battle of Brandywine, general Greene diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſupporting the right wing of the American army, when it gave way, and judiciouſly covering the whole, when routed and retreating in confuſion; and their ſafety from utter ruin was generally aſcribed to his ſkill and exertions, which were well ſeconded by the troops under his command.

At the battle of Germantown, he commanded the left wing of the American army—and his utmoſt endeavours were exerted to retrieve the fortune of that day, in which his conduct met with the approbation of the commander in chief.

In March, 1778, he was appointed quarter maſter general.

which office he accepted under a ſtipulation that his rank in the army ſhould not be affected by it, and that he ſhould retain his right to command in time of action, according to his rank and ſeniority.

In this ſtation, he fully anſwered the expectations formed of his abilities; and enabled the American army to move with additional celerity and vigour.

At the battle of Monmouth, the commander in chief, diſguſted with the behaviour of general Lee, depoſed him in the field of battle, and appointed general Greene to command the right wing, where he greatly contributed to retrieve the errors of his predeceſſor, and to the ſubſequent event of the day.

About the middle of the year 1778, an attack being planned by the Americans, in conjunction with the French fleet, on the Britiſh garriſon at Newport Rhode Iſland, general Sullivan was appointed to the command, under whom general Greene ſerved.—This attempt was unſucceſsful. The French fleet having ſailed out of harbour, to engage Lord Howe's fleet, they were diſperſed by a ſtorm, and the Americans were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Newport; in doing which general Greene diſplayed a great degree of ſkill in drawing off the army in ſafety.

After the hopes of the Britiſh generals to execute ſome deciſive ſtroke to the northward, were fruſtrated, they turned their attention to the ſouthern ſtates, as leſs capable of defence, and more likely to reward the invaders with ample plunder. A grand expedition was in conſequence planned at New-York, where the army embarked on the 26th of December, 1779, and landed on the 11th of February, 1780, within about 30 miles of Charleſton, which, after a brave defence, was ſurrendered to Sir Henry Clinton, on the 12th of May.

A ſeries of ill ſucceſs followed this unfortunate event. The American arms in South Carolina were in general unſucceſsful, and the inhabitants were obliged to ſubmit to the invaders, whoſe impolitic ſeverity was extremely ill calculated to anſwer any of the objects for which the war had been commenced.

Affairs were thus circumſtanced, when general Waſhington appointed general Greene to the command of the American forces in the ſouthern diſtrict. He arrived at Charlotte, on the ſecond day of December, 1780, accompanied by general Morgan, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf to the northward, in the expedition againſt Burgoyne. He found the forces he was to command, reduced to a very ſmall number, by defeat, and deſertion. The returns were nine hundred and ſeventy continentals, and one thouſand and thirteen militia. Military ſtores, proviſions, forage, and all things neceſſary, were, if poſſible, in a more

reduced ſtate than his army. His men were without pay, and almoſt without clothing; and ſupplies of the latter were not to be had but from a diſtance of two hundred miles. In this perilous and embarraſſed ſituation, he had to appoſe a reſpectable and victorious army. Fortunately for him, the conduct of ſome of the friends of royalty, obliged numbers, otherwiſe diſpoſed to remain neuter, to take up arms in their own defence. This and and the prudent meaſures the general took for removing the innumerable difficulties and diſadvantages he was ſurrounded with, and for conciliating the affections of the inhabitants, ſoon brought together a conſiderable force, far inferior, however, to that of the Britiſh, who eſteemed the country perfectly ſubjugated.

After he had recruited his forces, with all the friends to the revolution he could aſſemble, he ſent a conſiderable detachment under general Morgan, to the weſtern extremity of the ſtate, to protect the well diſpoſed inhabitants from the ravages of the tories. This force, which was the firſt that had for a conſiderable time appeared there, on the ſide of the Americans, inſpired the friends of liberty with new courage, ſo that numbers of them crowded to the ſtandard of general Morgan. He at length, became ſo formidable, that lord Cornwallis thought proper to ſend colonel Tarleton to diſlodge him from the ſtation he had taken. This officer was at the head of a thouſand regular troops, and had two field pieces. He came up, on the 17th of January, 1781, at a place called Cowpens, with general Morgan, whoſe force was much inferior, and was compoſed of two thirds militia, and one third continentals. An engagement was the immediate conſequence.

The brevity of this ſketch will not permit me to go into a detail of the diſpoſitions made on either ſide. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that the brave Morgan gained a complete victory over an officer, the rapidity and ſucceſs of whoſe attacks, until that time, might have entitled him to make uſe of the declaration of Cæſar, "*veni, vidi, vici.*" Upwards of five hundred of the Britiſh, laid down their arms and were made priſoners; a very conſiderable number was killed. Eight hundred ſtands of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage waggons fell into the hands of the victors, who had only 12 killed, and 60 wounded.

(To be concluded in No. II.)

POETICAL.

THE EXILE OF ERIN.

THERE came to the beech a poor Exile of Erin,
The dew on his thin robe was heavy and chill;
For his country he ſigh'd, when at twilight repairing
To wander alone by the wind-beaten hill:
But the day ſtar attracted his eye's ſad devotion,
For it roſe on his own native iſle of the ocean,
Where once in the flow of his youthful emotion
He ſung the bold anthem of "Erin go bragh!"
"Oh, ſad is my fate! (ſaid the heart-broken ſtranger)—
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee,
But I have no refuge from famine or danger—
A home and a country remain not to me!
Ah never again in the green ſunny bowers,
Where my forefathers liv'd ſhall I ſpend the ſweet hours,
Or cover my harp with the wild-woven flowers—
And ſtrike to the numbers of "Erin, go bragh!"
Erin, my country, though ſad and forſaken,
In dreams I reviſit thy ſea-beaten ſhore;
But alas! in a far foreign land I awaken,
And ſigh for the friends who can meet me no more.
Oh, cruel fate! wilt thou never replace me
In a manſion of peace, where no peril can chaſe me:
Ah, never again ſhall my mother embrace me,
They died to defend me, or live to deplore!
Where is my cabin door, faſt by the wild wood!
Siſters, and Sire, did ye weep for its fall?
Where is the mother that look'd on my childhood?
And where is the boſom friend, dearer than all?
Ah, my ſad ſoul, long abandon'd by pleaſure,
Why did it doat on a faſt fading treaſure?
Tears like the rain drop, may fall without meaſure—
But rapture and beauty they cannot recall!
But yet, all its fond recollections ſuppreſſing,
One dying wiſh my lone boſom ſhall draw;
Erin, an exile, bequeaths thee his bleſſing;
Land of my forefathers, Erin, go bragh!

Buried and cold, when my heart ſtills her motion,
Green be thy fields, ſweeteſt Iſle of the ocean;
And thy harp ſtringing bards ſing aloud with devotion——
"Erin, ma vourneen—Erin go bragh!"

ODE TO EQUALITY.

EQUALITY, firſt privilege of man!
To thee we owe our freedom and our laws:
From thee our government receiv'd its plan,
In thee our happineſs beholds its cauſe.

Columbia's ſons, from proud diſtinctions free,
Proclaim'd thee welcome to their generous land;
Rank'd king and peaſant in the ſame degree,
And offer'd juſtice with an EQUAL hand.

As the bright orb, the ſource of heat and day,
Knows no diſtinction in th' enliv'ning glance,
Darts on each mortal an impartial ray,
Beaming kind luſtre through the wide expanſe.

Haſte happy æra; may it ſoon commence,
When thou ſhalt reign o'er the enlighten'd globe,
When thou ſhalt equal liberties diſpenſe,
And TYRANNY of all its powers diſrobe.

THE LOVER AND THE FRIEND.

A SONG.

By the late J. L. ARNOLD, *Eſq.*

WHILE zephyrs fan the verdant grove,
And flow'rets grace the plain;
While ſhepherds tell the nymphs they love,
Or ſhaunt in pleaſure's train;
To yonder cottage of my fair,
With anxious ſtep I tend,
What joy ſo great, as meeting there,
A Lover and a Friend.

To HER I fear not to diſcloſe
The ſecrets of my heart—
She bears a part in all my woes,
In all my joys a part.
If e'er ſhe weep, I kiſs the tear,
And bid her ſorrows end ;
If ſhe be pleaſed, joy ſhows me near,
A Lover and a Friend.

Thus youthful, innocent and gay,
Of perfect mind and mein ;
She quickly ſteals all hearts away,
Wherever ſhe is ſeen.
But though each ſhepherd's heart ſhe charms,
And all before her bend,
Round me alone ſhe throws her arms,
A Lover and a Friend.

A SMILE AND A TEAR.

YOU own I'm complacent, but tell me I'm cold,
Then muſt I my youth's early ſorrows unfold,
Muſt waken remembrance to joys that are fled,
Now hope is extinguiſh'd, and paſſion is dead ;
I have loſt in life's morn all that life could endear,
And if I am cheerful, I ſmile through a tear.

My parents, though humble, were happy and good,
We could boaſt of our honour, if not of our blood :
My love, ah ! how the ſad tale ſhall I tell,
For his country he fought, for his country he fell :
He was brave, he was true, to my ſoul he was dear,
His fame claims a ſmile, but it ſhines through a tear.

In vain would I picture my agoniz'd heart
My parents ſoft ſoothings no balm could impart :
They ſunk o'er the child whom they could not relieve,
And the cold hand of Death left me only to grieve :
Thus fated to ſuffer, that moment draws near,
When you'll neither diſtinguiſh a ſmile nor a tear.

ODE ON THE ANCIENTS.

BY PETER PINDAR.

ALL has been ſaid—the world has nought to yield:
Alas! there's nothing new beneath the ſun!
The ancients, with their hooks, have reap'd the field;
All that can be imagin'd has been done.
The ancients for the moderns were too ſtout;
Yes—the deep mine of knowledge is work'd out!

So cries the world. But who are they that ſpeak?
Men of no *nouſe*—moſt wonderfully weak!—
If things are *ſo*, why, what a fate is mine!
Lord help the muſe! ſhe never penn'd a line.

Reap'd the whole field!—not half on't, I'll be ſworn;
They've taken only a few ſheaves of corn.
The mine exhauſted!—Pho! I'll hear no more;
They've only gather'd a few grains of ore.

Appear but Genius—Genius ſoon will find
New matter to improve and charm mankind,
And teach on wildeſt heaths, the roſe to blow:
Genius (the rod of MOSES at the rock)
Shall, by a magical and happy ſtroke,
Bid the rich ſtream of wit and wiſdom flow.

The brains of men, in gen'ral, are a pool,
Wrap'd in death-ſtillneſs—*comfortably* dull;
Like motionleſs poor *Lethe*, void of ſpirit.
But now and then (like MILTON, for example,
Or SHAKESPEARE—each, indeed, a beauteous ſample,)
Into exiſtence pops a wight of merit;
An ocean, lo! his brave ideas riſe,
That mounts, and with its thunder ſhakes the ſkies!